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581 It was not felt necessary to marry. Because of the strong
589 economic position of women, a few spinsters had their own homes, farmed their own lands, enlisting nephews and nieces to help, or hiring as needed, and entered fully into the social life of the area. Others lived with relatives and assisted in the maintenance of a larger household unit. Some men, too, never married.
[593] One group of grown siblings of both sexes stated they were "too happy together to marry."

836 Pre-marital chastity was more or less observed. If a girl became pregnant before marriage, her parents brought pressure,
848 usually successful, on the boy to marry her. The occasional illegitimate child was raised without stigma in the girl's family, though problems arose during pregnancy and delivery (cf. "cone of wood" below). The mother later found a husband. One father was angered because he felt his daughter's pregnancy wrecked her chances for a marriage of prestige. He was conspicuous for his social aspirations towards city ways.

864 Information on human sexual matters was gathered by the
831 young sometimes by accidental observation of parents and others, through hints from hearing cursing, and by conversations with grandparents, older siblings, and friends of the same sex. Men joked on sex matters at the all-male rice-uprooting parties. Being antithetic to the ascetic prescriptions of Buddhism, sex talk was highly charged. Sex was never discussed in mixed company.

Residence

592 The nuclear family of husband, wife, and unmarried children was the primary social and productive unit, but other resident kinship units larger and smaller also occurred. After marriage,
[591] the couple usually lived for a time in the house of the parents of one spouse or the other; then, as soon as they could afford it, set up housekeeping in their own house. Of a sample of 96 families in Bang Chan, 30 set up independent households at once after marriage, 16 after one year, and the rest, a few per year, on throughout 10 years; 15 of the families never had a house of their own but lived with other relatives (Janlekha:37). Of 298 families, 59.4 per cent lived independently as a nuclear family, while 34.9 per cent lived with other relatives in the house. (The remaining were single persons living alone, or priests at the temple in the "ecclesiastical family.") The
361 average size of the households (not necessarily the nuclear families) was 5.7 persons, with a range of 1 to 14, the median being 6 (ibid. 28-29). The house of a new couple was usually built adjacent to parents or relatives, and certainly within
621 calling distance or sight of some other household. Social patterns of cooperative work, borrowing, and visiting kept adjacent households, whether kin, co-religionists or not, in

close touch with each other's activities and needs. 621

These residence arrangements had considerable bearing on the amount of help at hand for a pregnant, parturient, or lactating woman, especially since every woman expected to bear her child at home. A woman's first child was often born while she was still resident in the house of her parents or parents-in-law. If the separate household had been set up, and especially if there were other small children, a parturient's mother or other relative came to stay with her for delivery and post-delivery care, or a woman might return to her parental or her husband's home for the event. In fact, since husbands and wives were both needed in the fields, it took great diligence for a woman, without extra kinfolk in the house, to carry on child-care, cooking, and field-work, and then undergo child-bearing besides. The extensive overlap in the division of labor (Sharp et al. 1953:94-98), though, resulted in much sharing by husbands in the household chores, so that the burdens were somewhat eased. Help in child-birth was one of the areas of mutual aid freely accorded by neighbors, so all women could count on adequate or even ample help at this time. 621 844 592 844 476 593 [462]

Wealth Differences:

Way of Life

Real polarities of wealth existed. A well-to-do person owned rice fields, a good house, and had many devoted kinsmen. Teachers who were governmental civil servants and a few of the traders were somewhat better off because they had regular sources of cash. A poor man, owning no land, lived humbly and hired out at day labor and other odd jobs. Yet the way of life of the well-to-do was not very different from that of the poor. Practically all persons worked in the fields or at related activities, wore the same cotton clothes, and ate the same food. Rice was plentiful. Fish, fruit, vegetables, and fuel could be amply obtained practically without cost, though it was also possible to spend money on these. Yet here and there persons were beginning to lose their old satisfaction in life as a farmer. Changes were beginning to come in, heralded by such things as hair permanently waved, gasoline pressure-lamps, increased geographical and political awareness, grumbling over the cost of living, and frustration over rising expectations. Urban life as met with in Bangkok was viewed with some awe as a glittering universe with different ideas and needs, yet also with some uneasiness. The city dwellers sometimes looked down on the country dwellers and made them feel uncomfortable. 556 875 441 [464] 556 511 178 369

4

132 Bangkok. The tropical monsoon climate divides the year into
three seasons, a hot, wet season from late May to November, a
cooler, dry season from December to early February, and a hot,
361 dry season from late February to mid-May. The community,
scattered over an area of approximately five square miles, was
161 composed of seven neighboring hamlets. In 1954, the population
162 was approximately 1700, divided among 336 households. About
60 per cent of the households were made up of independent fam-
ilies, parents with unmarried children, with an average family
[145] size of 5.7 persons. The main occupation of 80 per cent of all
families was rice farming.

243 The climate together with the overflowing Chao Phraya
[13] river, provided natural conditions for raising a single crop
[220] of wet rice. From May or June to February, the principal activ-
ities were those connected with rice production. This crop
greatly exceeded the needs for local consumption as human food,
[435] feed, and seed. The surplus of rice which was sold, was esti-
mated for 1953 as 1.4 times the amount used for all purposes
within the village (Janlekha, 1955).

346 Wat Bang Chan, the Buddhist monastery and place for re-
621 ligious exercises, was also the center of social life in the
[795] community. When data for this study were being gathered, the
one primary school in the village was located on the grounds
of the wat. The community was defined simply by the clientele
which patronized Wat Bang Chan and this elementary school.
[563] Within the area of the community lived a small minority of Thai
Moslems who patronized a mosque and school just outside Bang
Chan. The few Chinese in the village were considered as part
of the Thai-Buddhist community. Information to be presented
[028] on food habits refers primarily to habits of the Buddhist major-
ity, although some reference will be made to ways in which
Moslem practices differed therefrom.

133 Although for six or more months of the year the fields
243 were covered with water, sometimes to a depth of a meter or
491 more, a year-round road, connecting Bangkok and Minburi, the
484 nearest market town, ran through one edge of the village. Bus
487 service was available along this road, to either Bangkok or
[494] Minburi but within the community one went by boat on the net-
work of canals during the wet season, and during the dry season,
[501] on foot along the dikes or across fields. From late January
through May, when subsidiary canals were apt to be dry, getting
about was somewhat difficult. Boat travel was considered easy,
but as many families had only one boat, a trip to the store or
even to a neighbor's home had to be planned with reference to
the activities of other family members.

443 Large scale purchases, as for a ceremony, were always
made at a big market, but in general, instead of people going
to the market-town, the "market" came to the people. Boat-
venders brought not only fresh produce and staples but also
sweets, ices, soft drinks, and cooked foods such as Chinese

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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In addition to these widespread national patterns, Bang Chan has certain characteristics that seem relatively distinctive of villages of the Central Plain. Not of least importance is the demographic arrangement of the community: either isolated homesteads surrounded by rice fields and connected to larger canals by small tributaries or groups of households strung out along both sides of the canals. The former pattern is more commonplace and historically more recent, and is the result of an expanding population trying to live on a land that has been so committed to the commercialized cultivation of rice that the only available house sites are on the fields themselves. This "typical Central Plain" pattern contrasts with the "cluster" type villages found in the North and Northeast (deYoung 1955) where houses are integrated into compact communities around which are located the rice fields. Although it is difficult to draw precise relationships between demographic arrangements and psychological characteristics, it is noteworthy that the isolated locale of so many Bang Chan households is not out of keeping with the independent and individualistic propensities of the villagers. As one villager expressed it, "If people live far away from each other, there will not be any trouble."

Related to the above pattern and characteristic of other communities of the Central region (cf. Kaufman 1960) is the absence among village residents of any strong sense of identification with the needs of their community as a whole. Except for religious activities and the reciprocal work groups organized for rice transplanting and harvesting—the rewards for which are directly personal—the villagers simply are not predisposed to participate in communal projects. Thus, activities which require large-scale coöperation or organization to be effective—clearing or deepening canals, repairing the unusable road that leads from the main highway to the school, building a playground for the school—are either not carried out or are effected only with extreme difficulty. Although a few villagers recognize these as defects of social organization, it is clear that the majority find it easier to live with them than to try to change the basic institutional framework that sustains them; maintaining their own freedom of action is simply more important, and more culturally "natural," to the villagers than getting involved in public service projects. Again, this pattern seems to contrast with that found in the villages of the North (deYoung 1955) where individuals regularly contribute labor to their communities by repairing village streets and maintaining irrigation systems, even when such efforts require coöperation between adjacent villages.

The inability of Bang Chaners to organize coöperative projects is undoubtedly abetted by the formal governmental structure of the village which, although perhaps more of an administrative nightmare than is normally found elsewhere in the Central Plain, is in its organizational

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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essentials not atypical of the region. Instead of villages being organized administratively on the basis of natural social groupings and demarcations—that is, social centers and groups with which people feel a primary identification, in Bang Chan's case the local Buddhist monastery and government primary school—so that governmental and social units are isomorphic, they are gerrymandered into highly arbitrary administrative units. Thus the village of Bang Chan is comprised of seven *muubaan* or hamlets, at the head of which are seven hamlet headmen; these hamlets are located in two different *tambon*, or communes (four in one commune, three in the other) headed by two commune headmen, neither of whom lives in Bang Chan; the two communes are located in two different districts headed by two different district officers and their staffs; the two districts fortunately are in a single province, Phranakhoon, the same administrative unit in which the metropolis of Bangkok is located. Yet the people who reside in these varying hamlets located in different communes and districts all perceive themselves as living in the single village of Bang Chan. The fundamental organizational problem here is that since the sources and lines of governmental authority do not follow the lines of the natural Bang Chan community, jurisdictional conflicts and confusions arise to threaten the effectiveness of those community-wide programs that occasionally may be initiated. For example, during a diphtheria immunization campaign in the village (Hanks and Hanks 1955), the public health officer from one of the district offices was reluctant to immunize all the children of Bang Chan on the grounds that some of them came from hamlets outside his district's jurisdiction; he yielded, as the Hankses note, only when a perceptive villager pointed out that if germs knew no boundaries why should he?

Not all villages of the Central region have such real or potential administrative difficulties. (And Bang Chan does not have them too frequently either, principally because the government does not initiate too many community service programs.) However, the basic organizational principle which admits them—that houses are grouped together as administrative "villages" on the basis of conceptual neatness rather than socially functional criteria—is a common feature of the administrative structure of the Central Plain.

The foregoing account describes some basic culture patterns which Bang Chan shares with other villages of either the region or the nation. In addition to these broader patterns, Bang Chan has certain traits which inevitably refer to local village conditions and contingencies. For example, the most active and viable social unit in Bang Chan beyond the familial level is the order of Buddhist monks associated with the monastery. It is the only organization within the village that has been successful in mobilizing community activity (Sharp *et al.* 1953), although much of this activity has

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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been religious in nature—getting the assistance of villagers to construct monks' cubicles or repairing the small rest pavilions near the monastery, the "pay" for which is Buddhist merit—or, if secular, infused with sacred attributes, such as when the head monk helped raise funds for the construction of the Bang Chan school by supporting the notion that villagers who gave money to the school would make merit. It is clear, however, that the organizational vigor of the Bang Chan monkhood is mainly a function of the aggressive personality and leadership of Bang Chan's particular abbot, and that with a more retiring, contemplative head monk—a not uncommon or undesirable role for an abbot—the situation would be strikingly different.

In a similar vein, it is difficult to link the incidence of land ownership and tenancy in Bang Chan with any consistent national or regional pattern. At the national level, Thailand is fortunate among predominantly peasant nations in having a comparatively low level of land tenancy, an estimated 80 percent of the cultivated land of the country being owned by the small, independent farmers who work it (National FAO Committee of Thailand 1949). However, within these broad, national parameters there is considerable inter- and intra-regional variation. Zimmerman's study in the early 1930's indicated that the number of peasants without land ranged from 14 percent in Southern Thailand, through 27 percent in the North, to 36 percent in the Central Plain. These regional figures seemed to have remained relatively constant through the years in that deYoung (1955) reports a tenancy figure of 27.7 percent for a village in the North which he studied in 1949, and Janlekha (1955) indicates a figure of 37 percent for Bang Chan, in the Central Plain, in 1953.[4] As close as the Bang Chan figure may seem to its regional average, however, it is of little significance when seen against the background of variability that exists within the region as a whole: for example, in villages near the city of Lopburi, only 12 percent of the villagers are landless, but in the Khlong Rangsit area, not far

[4] It should be noted, however, that other indices of economic well-being in Bang Chan have not remained constant. To the extent that his historical materials permit, Janlekha (1955) points out that land holdings have become increasingly smaller, the amount of time newly-married couples must live with one set of parents (in order to accumulate the capital necessary for setting up their own neolocal households) longer, and the price of land higher. Janlekha's data indicate that in the five-year period between 1948 and 1953 alone, the price of agricultural land, as contrasted with considerably more expensive residential land, in and around Bang Chan increased 560 percent!

It is also well to keep in mind Janlekha's observation that, depending upon familial circumstances such as number of children and availability and proximity of labor, a Bang Chan farmer who rents a large plot of land from a benevolent absentee landlord, who is often unfamiliar with Bang Chan crop values, may be considerably better off economically than a farmer who works a small plot of land that is all his own.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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continually brings to the attention of the villagers urban standards and aspirations which, whenever possible, they attempt to apply to themselves. L. M. Hanks (1959b: 19) sees the operation of this characteristic acculturative mechanism in Bang Chan in terms of the villagers' "search for respectability": "A respectable cremation requires an orchestra; a respectable dwelling a tile roof; a respectable sickness an injection; and a respectable family must chaperone carefully its growing daughters. So run a host of points which help to bolster but not necessarily to advance social position."

Yet, after the relationship between village and town has been considered, Bang Chan remains very much a peasant community, whose residents are concerned first and foremost with the cultivation of rice, the maintenance of their monastery, and their own immediate social environment. Despite aspirations, many Bang Chan cremations must go without the orchestra; most dwellings lack the tile roof; injections are taken only by those who can afford them; and the necessity for boys and girls to work together during harvest time, a period of unavoidably infectious joy, precludes any rigidly imposed chaperonage. Perhaps the best assessment of the cultural position of Bang Chan was provided by the writer's field assistant—an individual born and reared in a village in the Northeast who, although in many respects worldly and urbane, maintained an almost passionate identification with his peasant background—who said: "When I first came here to Bang Chan, I never thought that people living so close to Bangkok could be *real* Thai villagers. But they are. They are not as friendly and hospitable as Northeastern peasants, and they are more interested in money, but they have a much greater love of the land. No city person could ever think and feel as they do."

Family Life and Social Organization

In terms of the traditional categories of social structural analysis, the social organization of Bang Chan is strikingly simple. There are essentially only five social units which demand, and toward which villagers express, relatively enduring psychological commitments. These are the nuclear family;

home from school, the curriculum for which is written and directed by Ministry of Education officials in the city. Approximately 14 percent of Bang Chan households have battery driven radios (there is no electricity in the village) and approximately 60 percent of the villagers can read, although considerably fewer actually have the proficiency to go comfortably through a newspaper; theoretically the same number of people can write, but few Bang Chan adults have the courage to take pencil to paper without feeling discomfort over their handwriting, spelling, and knowledge of stylistic forms. Newspapers that people bring home from town are passed around and read more for their entertainment than information; the few books that are seen in the village are pulp magazines, religious or moralistic writings, and occasionally do-it-yourself pamphlets ("How to Raise Chickens the Modern Way").

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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a loosely defined, laterally oriented kindred; the nation-state (mentioned not for formal reasons, but because it actually is psychologically important); and to a lesser extent, the village monastery and school. Of these five institutions, the nuclear family is the principal focus of psychological concern, beyond the individual himself. Otherwise, there are in Bang Chan no castes, age-grade societies, occupational groups (other than the family), neighborhood groups, or groups expressive of village solidarity (such as councils or governing boards) which might impose a sense of obligation on the villagers, or to whose norms or functions the villagers might have to conform.[6] Bang Chaners do not have to contribute their labor to their community, serve as village guards, contend with the dictates of village elders, or even actively coöperate with fellow villagers.

All villagers have additional relationships of varying degrees of intimacy both within and without the community, but these are dyadic, not group, relationships based on implicit expectations of mutual benefit. Such contacts are in nature primarily idiosyncratic (friends), transient (reciprocal work groups, gambling and drinking partners), or contractual (as opposed to affective or kin determined: vendors, landlords, debtors, rice millers, employers, and doctors). It is important to recognize that if some of these latter relationships take on positive affective qualities, they may also assume some of the forms and feelings of kinship. Thus, a young man who is taken on as a hired hand by a family frequently ceases to be considered an "employee" and becomes instead an "adopted son." (This type of *gemeinschaft* relationship, contrary perhaps to theoretical expectations, is also characteristic of many occupational situations in Bangkok.) In a similar vein, the terms for older sibling (*phii*), elder uncle (*lung*), and elder aunt (*paa*) are used as terms of address and reference between individuals who are obviously not related to each other, but who wish to mark overtly their fondness and respect for one another. The use of these

[6] There are two minor exceptions to this generalization: (1) a monastery lay committee whose functions are limited to the secular tasks of monastery administration, and membership in which brings prestige and Buddhist merit to a few selected members of the community; and (2) reciprocal work groups organized for and limited to rice transplanting and harvesting, membership in which is completely voluntary and a matter of mutual convenience (Janlekha 1955). Careful accounts are kept as to how much labor is contributed by each participating family, and responsibility for remitting labor received lies with the individual participant, not the group.

It must be noted that the monastery and its cadre of relatively permanent monks, although the very institution that defines the existence of "the village of Bang Chan," is not from the point of view of its clientele primarily a unit representative of village cohesiveness. It is first and foremost a Buddhist monastery where one may make merit and only secondarily *the Bang Chan* Monastery. Several members of the community patronize other monasteries, and several Bang Chan monks come from other locales. The keen sense of individual obligation that villagers feel toward their monastery could be directed toward any monastery.

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fictive terms is of course sometimes prompted by nothing more than the desire to be polite, but equally often it symbolizes genuine feelings of affection and obligation not too different from what the terms imply when they are used in their original kinship context. Bang Chaners have a wonderfully convenient term, *phyan-yaad*, a compound meaning literally "family friends," which is used to refer both to friends to whom ego feels so close that he considers them members of his family and to individuals whom he considers his friends *because* they are members of his family. The particular persons to whom this term, as well as those noted above, is applied vary widely from informant to informant (expectedly so because they are non-institutionalized terms). However, the point to be emphasized is that for all villagers kinship provides a basic referential mechanism for expressing the degree of psychological affiliation that they feel toward other human beings.

An *awareness* of degrees of psychological affiliation and obligation and of the modes for expressing such sentiments are very much a part of village life. For with the exception of the five institutions mentioned above, most Bang Chaners, as I have noted elsewhere (Sharp *et al.* 1956: 241), are really not obliged—and do not feel obliged—to be beholden to anyone but themselves. In a very real sense, the village is comprised of 1,771 individualists whose major goals in life are to obtain sufficient land to support themselves, their growing children, and their religion, free from physical insecurities and unencumbered by entangling social obligations. When they enter into relationships with other people they do so with an awareness that they are always acting of their own free will.

Despite the conventions of ethnographic reporting, it is difficult to delimit the precise nature of the nuclear family in Bang Chan. The nuclear family clearly is the ideal for all villagers, but because Bang Chaners are just as responsive to convenience as they are to custom, there is considerable variation regarding this ideal. In his study of the economy of the village, Janlekha (1955) found it necessary to distinguish five different kinds of functioning, mutually exclusive household units in Bang Chan: the typical nuclear family (59.4 percent of all households); a limited extended family, consisting of a man, wife, either or both their sets of parents, and unmarried children (8.1 percent); an extended family, consisting of the limited extended family plus married children, the latters' children, and any collateral relatives of any generation (26.8 percent); a one-person family (5.4 percent); and the ecclesiastical "family," consisting of the order of Buddhist monks, the only truly corporate group in the village (0.3 percent). (These variations of the nuclear family, all localized groups, should of course not be confused with what I, following Sharp [1957], have been calling the kindred, with what Kaufman [1960] refers to as spatially and

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harvest time, serve to create a rite of intensification as family members decide together what work will be done by whom, arise early in the morning to work together happily in the fields—sometimes for as long as fourteen hours at a stretch—and actually see the fruits of their coöperative labor mount up on the threshing floors. The sense of familial solidarity and intradependence, and its associated feelings of love, is experienced by all.[16] Also, since harvesting more often than not involves working reciprocally with other families, the host of a reciprocal labor group giving a feast whenever possible at the end of the day, it serves, although to a lesser extent, to intensify feelings of membership in the larger community.

Summary

In my discussion of the "cultural background," I have dwelt primarily on kinship because the family is functionally the most significant social unit in the village and because it is within the context of kinship that personality is developed and, in Bang Chan, most frequently expressed. None of this is meant to imply a lack of importance for other social units—the monastery, the school, the state—or for the non-institutionalized relationships—friends, drinking partners, and business contacts. However, kinship does provide the basic psychological model for all human relationships in Bang Chan,

[16] Although the annual cycle of Thai peasants is described in detail in the available ethnographies on Thai rural life (deYoung 1955, Fraser 1960, Kaufman 1960, Kingshill 1960, Sharp *et al.* 1953) a few words should be added about the psychological dimensions of this cycle. Thus familial solidarity, intradependence, and love are not the only sentiments that are heightened during the harvest period. Perhaps the most striking quality of this season (December to January) is the increase in the optimism, joy, and general psychic well-being of the villagers: people laugh more loudly than usual; they relish telling about the things they are going to buy; parents take more kindly to the gallivanting of the children. These months contrast with transplanting time (late July to early August) and the period prior to harvest (October to November), when an overabundance of rain can destroy the villagers' rice seedlings or their entire crop. These latter periods are marked not so much by anxiety as by a sense of watchful waiting. All these contrast with the Dry season when things are especially quiet in Bang Chan and when villagers spend their time repairing farming equipment and houses, gossiping, or are working on jobs outside the community. Villagers say that of the three major seasons of the year (Dry, February to June; Rainy, June to January; Cold, January to February) they like the Rainy season best. The season coincides with the rice-growing cycle, is marked by Buddhist Lent and, excepting a final week of Monsoon downpour, is in fact the most comfortable period of the year.

These seasonal activities and attitudes also have direct implications for field work. Thus, while villagers gave freely of their time during the dry season and after the harvest, and during the latter were especially outgoing and benign, many simply would not see me during the weeks of planting and harvesting. The benign attitudes of villagers interviewed after the harvest were reflected directly in the data, as were the noncommittal responses of some villagers who were interviewed during transplanting time.

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596 602 *156 [609] and not only in the abstract, symbolic sense. Non-kin are approached in the hope that they eventually may be treated as kin; good government officials are unabashedly described as being like "good fathers"; the basic patterns of respect that are learned and practiced in the family are extended to relationships outside of it, although inevitably in more formal ways. There is no *rigid* psychological cleavage between the sentiments of kinship and the sentiments about individuals outside of the family. Conversely the mere fact of kinship does not assure that individuals will be given special emotional treatment: often the love between friends is greater than the love between kin (see the case of "Dang," his father, and father's friends in Hanks and Phillips 1961, or the case cited earlier of the man who left his wife because of his fondness for an employer). Kinship represents to the villager relationships of warmth, familiarity, and conviviality, but also unpredictability and undependability. Such is the nature of most human contact in Bang Chan.

• 621 596 [662] *[156] In this type of cultural situation, one does *not* find arising the type of community power struggles or schisms apparently characteristic of many peasant communities (see Foster 1960–61). Bang Chan is indeed a placid community because no family has the organizational means or the quality of familial cohesiveness necessary to assume a dominant social, political, or economic position. Individuals assume important positions and individuals disagree and squabble, but rarely families. In surveying the cultural landscape of Bang Chan, I often wondered whether the basic unit of anthropological and sociological, as well as psychological, analyses was perhaps not the individual rather than the family, monastery, school, or village itself.

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FOREWORD

The Cornell Thailand Project, like other Cornell University studies in community development, is a long term investigation in the field of the processes involved in changing cultural behavior in a non-industrialized society. Field research was begun in 1948 in the central plain of Thailand with base line studies of the rice farming community of Bang Chan and its environs. A collaborating staff of Thai and Americans representing different disciplines has continued to work in Thailand at Bang Chan and elsewhere in a series of phases extending to the present.

The first interim report issued by the Project gives a general account of the economic, political and social organization of Bang Chan in 1948-49 together with some material on health and diet (Sharp et al., 1953). Since the circulation of this first interim report was limited, some of the salient characteristics of Bang Chan should be outlined here.

Bang Chan is located some twenty roadmiles northeast of Bangkok, the rapidly growing major metropolis and capital of Thailand. The village is between two and three miles west of a small district administrative center and market town, Minburi. A century-old canal and to the north of it a post-war hard surface road connect Minburi and Bangkok so that villagers have easy access to these two centers by boat or bus.

In 1954, when data for the present study were still being gathered, the population of Bang Chan was about 1700, divided among about 300 households. Roughly 60 per cent of the households were made up of independent nuclear families consisting of parents and unmarried children. The average size for all families was 5.7 persons. Rice farming was the main occupation of 80 per cent of all families. The population in 1954 worked and lived on about 2800 acres (7000 rai) of land. With the exception of some 120 acres (300 rai) used for the home sites and home gardens scattered along the network of canals in the village, all land was devoted to the cultivation of wet rice. Nutritional density is thus practically the same as population density. Of the rice crop, 60 per cent or more may be sold, the remainder providing seed, feed, and the staple food of the people. During the wet season and into the cooler dry season, from May or June to February, the growing of the single crop of rice is the main activity. The hot dry season from March until the rice planting begins again is a period of fiestas, ceremonies, and visiting.

The Thai countryside is divided into hamlets, each with a headman in charge of the thirty to sixty households of the hamlet. Seven such hamlets constitute the Bang Chan community. (In the Project studies they are identified by the initials BC and KY followed by a number).

and KY followed by a number.) The center of social life in Bang Chan is the Buddhist monastery or wat and the adjacent government primary school. The community simply consists of the clientele which regularly patronizes Wat Bang Chan and this school rather than other comparable institutions elsewhere in the region. Within the area of the community lives a minority of Thai Moslems constituting about ten per cent of the population. They have their own mosque which happens to be just outside Bang Chan, but they attend many secular and some Buddhist functions at Wat Bang Chan. A number of small stores, which also serve as coffee houses and men's clubs, are used as neighborhood centers in different parts of the village. Near the central wat and school, there is also a store, and the house provided by one of the headmen for use as the Project headquarters.

This present interim report of the Cornell Thailand Project includes some of the data necessary for the design of a program to improve health and diet in Bang Chan. Another report, now in preparation, will give the results of a detailed dietary survey made in the community following the health survey reported on here. These two studies together will indicate existing deficiencies in health and diet, and will permit the formulation of recommendations for needed changes in behavior as these can be realized in the context of the village and national culture.

The author of this study, Dr. Hazel M. Hauck, is Professor of Food and Nutrition in Cornell University. She has been associated with the work of the Cornell Thailand Project since 1950. She not only designed and supervised the research on health, nutritional status, and diet in Bang Chan, but during almost a year of field work in Thailand she obtained valuable data on many other topics for the Project's files. Some of her daily work in Bang Chan made little sense to the villagers, but they nevertheless became devoted to her. Her energy, tact and fine spirit in facing the discomforts and difficulties of rough field work in a tropical foreign land inspired both her Thai and American associates. Working with Professor Hauck were Dr. Amusith Rajatasilpin, now a teacher in the School of Public Health in Bangkok; Miss Sapha Indrasud, now in the Ministry of Public Health; Dr. Chumlong Kittiveja, of the Dental School of the University of Medical Sciences, Bangkok; and Miss Saovanee Sudsaneh, who has been doing post-graduate work in nutrition at Cornell and Harvard. To all of these faithful workers, the Cornell Thailand Project is greatly indebted.

Lauriston Sharp, Director
Professor of Anthropology

Southeast Asia Program
Department of Far Eastern Studies
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York
September, 1956

BANG CHAN

12 As advoced by the Joint FAO/WHO Expert Committee on Nutrition (1951), this study combined clinical appraisal with dietary surveys. The only laboratory tests done were for hemoglobin content of blood, and examination of stools for parasites. Suggestions for planning the schedule for the clinical appraisal were obtained from the report on the second session of the Joint FAO/WHO Expert Committee on Nutrition (1951), Nicholls (1951) and especially from Professor Dean Smith of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (1952).

125 Choice of physical measurements, and of procedures in making them, were influenced by a tentative list of specifications for anthropometric measurement, developed by the Committee on Anthropometry, Food and Nutrition Board, National Research Council (1951).

The schedule used for clinical examinations, and a description of procedures used, are included in Appendix A.

Sampling. - All of the children attending the Bang Chan primary school were examined. Three or four children who were listed on the school rolls were not present at any time during the period when examinations were in progress, and were considered by the teachers as non-attending.

Persons in a random sample of households in 5 of the 7 hamlets in the Bang Chan community were also examined. The two most outlying hamlets were excluded from the population to be sampled because of the difficulty, during the dry season, in getting to them or having them come to us. Of 230 households in the 5 hamlets, 31 were included in the random sample. Age and sex distribution of the 166 persons in the sample were roughly similar to distributions for the approximately 1700 persons in the village as a whole, as determined in the census of December 31, 1953. Following is a summary of the age distribution:

[162] [624]

Age in Years	Bang Chan, 7 Hamlets	Random Sample, 5 Hamlets
0-14	38%	41%
15-19	11%	10%
20-59	44%	41%
60 and over	7%	8%

[162] The sample included one Muslim family of 13 members.

In the 31 households, 166 of 184 persons, i.e. 90% were examined. Of the 10% non-response group, half were unavailable, for example away at work when the examinations were in progress. The remaining members of the non-response group [123]

A [See pp. 51-52--Analyst]

121 I recall seeing portable motors stored in some Bang Chan houses and
[243] can still picture many threshing floors with neatly layered heaps
[244] of rice straw where the mushrooms grew. A few of those apparently "progressive" farmers had special ponds to which they proudly invited me to watch the feeding of the tilapia fish. Occasionally one of them seized the opportunity of my visit to inquire about sending a sick kinsman to a Bangkok hospital. Without Dr. Goldsen's analysis I might easily have been lured to generalize that certain farmers were "innovation minded."

*177 The survey's evidence against a general "innovation mindedness"
*178 cautioned me to reconsider my impressions. I realized that it would
121 be an oversimplification of the social network in Bang Chan to
• 621 think of it as containing a group of "progressives" who sought avidly each new agricultural wrinkle and who pitted themselves against another group of "conservatives" who resisted change. Instead I was led to see some farmers interested in certain new things, others indifferent to these but interested in other things. Bang Chan looked more like a mosaic of small groups, each fitting or rejecting the new according to its circumstance.

*177 Instead of thinking simply of a group of highly motivated,
*178 wealthy farmers who assumed the responsibility of trying out the
243 new for the benefit of their less affluent neighbors, I was
244 alerted to recognize a variety of kinds of innovation., Innovation in growing rice, where one might employ a motor or fertilizer, differed considerably from earning extra cash during the dry season by growing mushrooms. The analysis of the survey evidence made me sensitive to the realization that mushroom culture was clearly a seasonal activity requiring little investment and open to any family, rich or poor, that needed cash. Certainly no genuine rice farmer would permit this extra work to interfere when the rains called time for ploughing. The finding that no correlation existed between acceptance of motors and growing mushrooms seemed in retrospect clear, almost self-evident.

*177 The survey analysis indicating that owning a motor, despite
182 my initial impressions, bears no relation to use of modern medical
244 facilities, made me reexamine my initial impressions. My own
757 studies had made me aware that making a living is a positive action among Bang Chan farmers: it requires forethought and will. Health, however, for Bang Chan is a kind of negative entity to be taken for granted until sickness arrives. Bang Chan has no vitamin pills nor tonics to maintain health, though all work actively to relieve sickness. Growing mushrooms and using modern medical facilities are phenomenally different undertakings. Certainly the survey analysis in this regard bore out and corroborated this "thematic" analysis.

established that none of the correlated factors finally turned out to produce the disease--the necessary condition was a bacillus. Indeed, some of the factors mentioned might be viewed as results of the illness rather than as causal factors. Correlational analysis in a study of this type can establish only that the factors associated with tuberculosis constitute the context within which the necessary condition (in this case the bacillus) was known to operate. In the second example, traffic accidents, it is perfectly apparent that age , or time of day, cannot produce a car accident, but the linkage between accidents and other factors provides portions of the context where accidents occur.

Why is it important to understand this context' Such knowledge can lead to inferences about more direct causation, which serve to narrow down the clinician or experimenter's search for the necessary condition. Indeed, a necessary condition may operate only when it is imbedded in this complex matrix of other related variables--or may even be rendered inoperative when the context is changed. Thus efforts toward change or improvement can be made more effective by being directed to the relevant conditions.

It is essentially this kind of reasoning which underlies the procedure of the present study. Just as in the examples cited, linkages can lead to inferences about causation which may later be checked in the laboratory, so, in the same way, linkages discerned in the present study can lead to inferences about causal factors. They are useful chiefly in providing the context within which the decision to try out these sorts of innovations comes about. In this sense of understanding the context, efforts to produce social change may be made with more understanding of the dynamics.

We may now turn to the data collected in Bang Chan for a study of factors related to acceptance or rejection of innovations within the larger context of a rural community in contemporary Thailand.

THE COMMUNITY AND THE INNOVATIONS

The Scene of Bang Chan

Twenty-five miles by highway northeast of Bangkok is situated the community of Bang Chan. In this section of the central plains the inhabitants live as near as possible to the rice paddies which they till, so that instead of a compact village Bang Chan is a community spreading broadly along the banks of a canal network which from its two-mile stretch through Bang Chan, covers most of Central Thailand. Under these circumstances precise definition of the community becomes difficult and might be

arbitrary, were it not for the Buddhist temples, a neighboring government-operated primary school, and a few small stores, all of which provide a center for the community. There the inhabitants paddle their boats for religious observances, their children attend school, and anyone with a few minutes gossips over a cup of coffee. These people, furthermore, speak of themselves when outside the community as coming from Bang Chan, and the temple familiarly called "Wat Bang Chan" helps outsiders to identify the particular area. 361 621

The community's 1600 inhabitants live in one of seven hamlets, each with an officiating headman who may offer some leadership to the neighborhood. Bang Chan has no political unity beyond the informal influence of the head priest at the temple, for administrative units of local government disregard its social and psychological coherence. On one side of the main canal headmen go a rough two miles to attend meetings with the District Officer, while their neighbors across the canal must spend half a day on the canal to reach the district offices which govern them. 161 621 634 624

As the survey results indicate, about 88 per cent of the households receive the major portion of their income from cultivating rice, though many of these men and women turn briefly to other occupations during the slack season. The remaining fraction is divided between persons engaged in trade as storekeepers or vendors and those in such service occupations as highway labor or school janitor. 621 243 434 443 464

A little less than half of the population owns the land or a portion of the land it works, the remainder renting from neighbors and landholders living away from Bang Chan. Though land becomes scarcer every year and its subdivision into small plots finer, land problems and landlord problems are not important concerns of the area farmers. Economic factors also grant higher status within the community to land holders than to renters and the landless. So also age and religious piety bring respect. Yet social structure articulates flexibly enough to afford a young renter of good reputation and energy a decent hearing at a meeting, and indeed, he might carry his point in a group of wealthy landholders. Two or three times in past generations young men have moved from thatched houses in Bang Chan to high government positions in Bangkok through fortunate connections that enabled them to attend leading schools, as well as through their own industry. People merely invoke the Buddhist concept of accumulating merit in present and past lives through good deeds when they comment on the rise of such persons, for with sufficient merit all is possible. Thus regularity in the socio-economic order becomes a moderate level of probability admitting many exceptions. 423 427 554 621 [555] [771]

On the average, an interview took about 40 minutes. Interviews ranged from about 20 minutes to one and a half hours. During the first days of interviewing the duration of an interview was on the average a little longer, and decreased as the interviewers became familiar with the instrument. For the first four days of interviewing, the daily output of interviews amounted to an average of 23; from the fifth day on the daily average output increased to 32 interviews. 124

The survey focussed mainly upon factors associated with the acceptance or rejection of certain changes in the village. The questionnaire was designed to permit: (1) a check on whether a question was meaningful to the respondents in the sense of its analytic significance in the study design; (2) testing the relative analytic sensitiveness of different types of question and answer categories; (3) collecting data whose manifest content was identical to content which had been investigated in other field stations; (4) collecting data, which, while differing from the manifest content covered in other field stations, nevertheless, had the same conceptual significance in this particular culture analysis; and (5) collecting specific information of interest to the area specialists assisting the Methodology Study. 125

Sampling

Problems of sampling were minimal. The entire area previously studied by Cornell anthropologists, consisting of seven hamlets, constituted the universe from which respondents were to be selected. The sampling unit was a household, defined as a single person or a group of persons constituting an economic unit and customarily using the same kitchen. Interviewers were instructed to select the head of the household as respondent. The head of the household was defined as that resident whom other members considered to be the head. If the head of the household was unavailable, interviewers were instructed to substitute "an articulate member of the household," defined as a person in a given household eligible to substitute as head. The majority of the respondents (85 per cent) were the actual heads of their households; substitutions were made only in the remaining 15 per cent of the cases. Interviews were gathered from all but one of the 336 households in the Bang Chan area studied.

The sample obtained is composed of 243 males and 90 females, of 298 Buddhists and 35 Moslems. As far as ascertainable, the respondents reported their place of birth as follows: 125 621

140 were born in Khanhajaow Commune
116 were born in Bang Chan Commune
11 were born in Minburi Commune
30 were born outside of the three above communes

40

125
• 621 The age breakdown of the sample is as follows:

41 cases of 20 to 29 years of age
73 cases of 30 to 39 years of age
83 cases of 40 to 49 years of age
68 cases of 50 to 59 years of age
41 cases of 60 to 69 years of age
16 cases of 70 years or more

The occupational status breakdown is as follows:

269 farm operators
24 farm laborers
18 in trade or commerce
10 in service occupations
12 other (2 retired, 2 artisans, 1 traditional doctor, 1 janitor, 1 air force man, 1 policeman, 1 children's caretaker 1 gardener, 1 laborer in irrigation department, and 1 occupation unspecified)

123 Respondent Reaction to the Survey

The respondents were in general cooperative and congenial as is substantiated by the following interviewers' ratings:

(1) 93 per cent of the respondents were reported as cordial at first contact;

(2) 96 per cent of the respondents were reported friendly, cooperative, and responsive for all or most of the interview;

(3) 90 per cent of the respondents were reported as speaking freely for all or most of the interview,

(4) 91 per cent were reported as answering to the point of most or all questions, as giving reasonable, applicable answers;

(5) Only 5 per cent of the respondents were reported as giving many guarded, insincere or evasive replies, whereas 15 per cent were reported as giving some guarded, insincere or evasive replies; and 80 per cent of the respondents were reported as giving no guarded, insincere or evasive replies.

1(4 The interviewing period fell in a relatively quiet season between harvesting and planting of paddy. At that time farmers were readying implements and beginning to prepare for harrowing and sowing the seed-beds. The period coincided with a period of university vacation so as to recruit English-speaking interviewers. The morale of the staff was high at all times.

* * * *

APPENDIX B

Cornell Methodology Project
Thailand, May 1958

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621

BANG CHAN STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE (Frequency Distributions)

A. Ser. No. B. Hamlet and H C. Date of Interview E. Name of Respondent [162]

F. Sex
9. male 243
X. female 90

G. Religious Affiliation
0. Buddhist 298
Y. Moslem 35

H. Main Occupation [46]
8. Farm operator 269
9. Farm laborer 24
X. Trade and commerce 18
Y. Service 10
0. Other, Specify _____ 12

I. R is HH or not HH
1. HH 277
2. Not HH 56

J. If not HH, relationship to HH
3. Husband —
4. Wife 41
5. Son 10
6. Daughter 2
7. Father —
8. Mother —
9. Mother-in-law —
X. Other relative 3

1.a. Were you born in Bang Chan Commune, Khanna Yao Commune, Minburi Commune, or outside?

b. If outside, in what province were you born? [166]

1. BC Commune 116
2. KY Commune 141
3. Minburi Commune 11
4. Commune unascertainable 2
5. Outside BC, KY, Minburi 30
7. Unascertainable 33

2.a. How old are you? [162]
b. In what zodiac year were you born?
1. 20 to 29 41
2. 30 to 39 81
3. 40 to 49 85
4. 50 to 59 68
5. 60 to 69 41
6. 70 and over 17

42

621
125
[872]

3.a. Is there anyone from your house who is now attending mattayom school?
1. Yes 24
2. No 309

b. Do you have any children who have not yet entered or not yet finished prathom school?
3. Yes 201
4. No 128
-- Unascertainable 4

c. IF YES: Do you plan to send any of these children to mattayom school or not, or is it uncertain?
5. Plans to send 66
6. Does not plan to send 83
7. Unascertainable 52

[863] 4. What kind of occupation would please you the most—farming or some other occupation? If some other occupation, what other occupation would please you the most?
1. Farmer prefers farming 266
2. Farmer prefers other occupation 25
3. R. from other occupation prefers his occupation 25
4. R. from other occupation prefers farming 8
5. R. from other occupation prefers another occupation 5
6. Unascertainable 4

5. How is Baan BC-KY in your opinion? Is it a very good place to live, a fairly good place to live, or not such a good place to live?
8. Very good 71
9. Fairly good 254
X. Not so good 4
O. Unascertainable 4

[276] 6.a. Do you smoke cigarettes or not?
7. Yes 208
8. No 118
-- No Answer 7

b. If yes: Would you say that you smoke more cigarettes than most people in BC-KY, less than most people in BC-KY, or about the same as most people in BC-KY?
9. More 14
X. Less 66
Y. About the same 124
O. Unascertainable 2

		Qu 46C	Qu 41B
125	1. Too old to move, old man	33	12
• 621	2. Easy to make living here, more comfortable, happy here	36	8
	3. Loves place, born here, would like to die here	37	26
	4. Doesn't like to leave area	10	4
	5. Relatives are here, likes neighbors, family here	32	28
	6. Own land	19	15
	7. Can't move her house, worried about housing in new place	7	1
	8. Change career, use other occupation	2	18
	9. Other: Big family, had to move too far, wouldn't know how to find a new place, people here one can trust, will help you	39	13
	0. D.A.	130	205
	X. No answer, unascertainable	7	23

		Qu 47B (labor contrib)	Qu 47D (money contrib)
125			
653	4. D.A.	238	202
	5. School	23	51
	6. Bridge	36	36
	7. Canal	16	8
	8. Road	13	23
	9. Other: district office, festival shelter, marriage of neighbors	8	8
	0. N.A.	1	9
	X. Rest house	5	5

		Qu 66B
125	1. Make merit, give alms, buy a golden belt, build a mosque	172
525	2. Purchase land	91
	3. Trade, build a market, open rice mill	34
	4. Spend for the family, unspecified, improve group condition	68
	5. Build a house	40
	6. Purchase of farming equipment or stock	22
	7. Pay debt	7
	8.	
	9. Other: Offer some to Thai army, to be carpenter, keep money in bank and collect interest, educate children, benefit country	44
	0. D.A.	39
	X. No Answer	2

The basic unit in the social structure of BC is the household. A number of households is grouped in a hamlet under a headman. We will bring our survey altogether into seven hamlets. The total number of households as defined by us above will be in the neighborhood of 350. Our target is to secure one interview from each household kitchen unit. 124 621.

Field conditions will be arranged such as to give each interviewer the best possible comfort and working facilities. Tentatively, interviewing time is set for 8 to 11 and 16 to 19 hours. However, weather and the experience of the first interviewing days will dictate the fixing of a more definite or a more flexible time schedule. After the end of each morning and afternoon interviewing period, the interviewers will deliver their completed interviews to Mr. Civ who will check the same for completeness. 124

Interviewing areas will be assigned and designated to each interviewer in due time. Then, the interviewer will proceed similarly or just as reported in notes on a trial interview by Mr. Civ: "I saw a man sitting on the ground in front of the house. With a smiling face, I made a Thai salute and said: Hello! Good morning, Sir, I would like to ask for your permission to ask you something about the life of Thai farmers as well as about the way of life in general... Sitting down near the R., I said smoothly: Excuse me, Sir, are you the HH?... How many kitchens do you have in your house? Only your family living in the house?... Thank you, Sir... Now, I am starting the questions, please be kind enough to answer, you will of course."

Should the potential R. ask the interviewer about his activity, the suggested reply is: I am doing research for the Cornell University.

Should the HH tell the interviewer that he has no time at the given moment, then the interviewer will attempt to fix an hour at the convenience of the HH.

Should any difficulty arise, it is suggested that the interviewer report the trouble as soon as practicable to the field director or his deputy.

Each interviewer is required to adhere rigorously to the phrasing of the questions in the questionnaire. Below, indications are provided for probing in situations, where it might be advisable. Probing is using some unbiasing short phrases for strengthening the question stimulus. Just what exactly is included in a probe will depend on the given situation, the nature of the R. and the degree of rapport between interviewer and R. At times, a short period of silence of perhaps 15 to 20 seconds might well produce the desired stimulus and make the R. speak after his first initial hesitation.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

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Reasons for the Choice of the Field Site

After an extensive survey of a number of possible sites in the Central Plain, the community of Bangchan, some twenty miles northeast of Bangkok, was selected for intensive study. Among factors leading to this choice were the following: (1) accessibility from Bangkok, about forty minutes by car with optimal road conditions, and about two and a half hours by launch -- an important advantage because it was desired to maintain contact with events in the capital, to utilize research and other facilities there, and to work in a community which Thai from Bangkok or vicinity could easily reach should they participate in the research; (2) availability of a fairly concentrated population of over 1,600 almost entirely engaged in rice production; (3) production of a large surplus of rice sold to nearby Chinese millers for export; (4) local use of two alternative methods of growing rice -- transplanting and broadcasting; (5) presence of an active religious institution or wat; (6) presence of a large government primary school; (7) artificial division of the community between two administrative units or amphur, providing an exceptional opportunity for comparative study of local government; (8) presence of a small number of Moslem Thai, permitting study of this important minority group; (9) almost complete absence of Chinese residents, but dependence upon outside Chinese itinerant vendors or nearby traders and millers, permitting study of Thai-Chinese relations; (10) a wide range of variation with respect to individual

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

121 experience outside the community, from persons who had
621 never before seen any foreigner to others familiar with Bangkok or smaller centers of modernizing influence; (11) prospects of a fair degree of physical security from robbery or other violence during the study; and (12) the promise of excellent cooperation on the part of both peasants and officials of the region.[2]

121 A majority of the sites visited or heard about during the preliminary survey proved unsatisfactory for one or more of the following reasons: (1) they were too specialized (fruit or truck gardening, brick or pottery making, proximity of a naval establishment, preponderance of non-Thai or non-Buddhist groups); (2) they consisted of amorphous groups of sub-marginal tenant farmers exhibiting marked signs of social disorganization; or, most commonly, (3) they were decentralized and the dispersal of homesteads along canals would have required an inordinate amount of research time spent in moving about in order to communicate with the people.[3]

121 Although caution has been exercised to select a com-
184 munity most closely approximating a representative village
*243 of the Central Plain, we do not purport that economic conditions described in Bangchan are identical with those of other villages in the region. Bangchan's representativeness

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2. Lauriston Sharp, "First Progress Report on Cornell Thailand Project, August 1-November 1, 1948", p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

3. Ibid., p.2.

T 63 Place of Bangchan in the Administrative Area

In the highly centralized system of Thai administration, the whole country is divided into 9 circles (phaŋ), 71 provinces (changwad), 414 districts (amphur) and 77 sub-districts (king-amphur), 3,650 communes (tambol), and some 50,000 hamlets (muban).

CT 621 634 121 In the section on reasons for the choice of the field site (page 32)[a] mention was made of an artificial division of Bangchan between two administrative units. By that we mean one part of our "natural" or "functional" Bangchan village administratively belongs to one amphur and the other part belongs to another amphur. The situation will become more vivid when we discuss our "natural" Bangchan village.

CT Our "Natural" Bangchan Village

621 121 In this study we are not interested in an administrative unit which is often an artificial division, but rather in a "natural" or "functional" village which may be operationally defined as a geographical area inhabited by a conglomeration of people having one or more common social centers.

CT 621 794 872 Bangchan people patronize an active Buddhist religious institution popularly known as Wat Bangchan, and an adjacent government primary school, both centrally located in the community.

CT 621 *128 For practical reasons for ease in statistical manipulation, we assume that the smallest administrative unit --

[a] [Erratum: this should read "page 36"---Analyst]

621 *128 the hamlet or muban -- is indivisible, although as a matter of fact a Thai hamlet is actually made up of individuals and families. We proceeded, then, to draw the boundary line of our natural village by first selecting Wat Bangchan as the social center and defining the natural village as composed of all hamlets whose headmen and the birth of whose population patronized this wat. The hamlets thus included were found to be Muban 4, Muban 5 and Muban 6 of Tambol Bangchan, Amphur Minburi, Changwad Phra-nakorn, and Muban 5, Muban 6, Muban 7 and Muban 8 of Tambol Kannayao, Amphur Bangkapi, Changwad Phra-nakorn. For the sake of brevity these seven hamlets will henceforth be referred to as BC4, Bc5, BC6, KY5, KY6, KY7 and KY8 respectively.

[872] We then checked the list of students enrolled in the primary school which is adjacent to the wat and found that most of the families residing in the seven hamlets sent their children to this school and that only a negligible fraction of the student body consisted of those from other nearby hamlets.

Our "Bangchan Village" may thus be defined as an area within the composite boundary line of BC4, BC5, BC6, KY5, KY6, KY7 and KY8. This is an area of about 6,500 rai (of which 6,404 rai are privately owned), assuming a somewhat circular shape and having as its centers Wat Bangchan and the adjacent Bangchan Primary School (see Map I).

361 312 Across this "Bangchan Village" and through its center runs a main canal, the Bangchan Canal, in a northeast-southwest

361 direction dividing it into two halves, the Bangchan half
312 consisting of BC4, BC5, BC6, and the Kannayao half consistingoof KY5, KY6, KY7 and KY8.

621 As mentioned earlier, our functional Bangchan village
634 is under two different administrative authorities, the Bangchan half consisting of part of Tambol Bangchan which is in turn part of Amphur Minburi in Changwad Phra-nakorn (Bangkok) and the Kannayao half consisting of part of Tambol Kannayao which is part of Amphur Bangkapi in the same Changwad Phra-nakorn.

History of Settlement

194 No official records on the history of the settlement
361 of Bangchan could be discovered, but evidence from genealo-
[503] gies provides a few clues on the subject. Following the digging of Saensaeb Canal some one hundred and twenty years ago, settlement was made along the banks of this important canal which provides one of the few connections between the
175 Menam and Bangprakong rivers. It was not, however, until
621 the 1870's, apparently, that people found it necessary to
361 move onto the land away from the canal. At that time, according to one of our older informants, her father was born in what is now Bangchan, his father and mother having come out from Bangkok as a young married couple to take up farm-
175 ing where plenty of land was available from the Crown. These
621 people and their followers, usually kinfolk or friends, cleared off scrub jungle areas in which, it is claimed, tigers and

175
621 elephants still roamed. They thus opened up to commercial rice production a new region lying behind the thin fringe of population already occupying all land bordering Saensaeb Canal.

The genealogies suggest that it was not until the 1880's that any major settlement occurred in Bangchan. There is doubtless a correlation between the rapid development of the community from then on and the increasing national and international demand for rice. Many of the settlers of this period were persons displaced from a southern and a northern section of Bangkok who were uprooted by the government which forced purchase of their land for the first Thai railroad and a large munitions factory. The Thai Islam or Moslem group in Bangchan claims descent from Patani Malays who were sent north by the Thai government in the course of wars during the 1830's and 1840's; many of their families settled in Donburi or along Saensaeb Canal before moving into the Bangchan area. Another element came into the region in the 1890's when some Lao Thai were encouraged to settle here after having fled their countryiin the northeast when the French occupied it in 1893.

[173]
[794]

By 1895 the Bangchan population was sufficiently numerous to support its own wat, which was established and officially recognized about that time and has flourished ever since.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

592 do not share the same arrangements for preparing and consuming food.

• 621 59 [792] The 298 families living in Bangchan on May 23, 1953 may be grouped into five categories: (1) "One-person household" consisting of a lone man or woman /for ease in typological manipulation we arbitrarily consider this as a family, although strictly speaking a one-person household is not a family/; (2) "Nuclear family" consisting of a man and wife and their unmarried children; (3) "Limited extended family" consisting of a man and wife, either or both their sets of parents, and their unmarried children; (4) "Extended family" consisting of those included in "limited extended family" plus married children and children of the latter, plus any collateral relatives of any generation; and (5) "Ecclesiastical family" consisting of Buddhist priests, novices, and temple boys, all males, living together in the temple under the Headpriest's supervision. The distribution of these different types of families so defined is shown in Table 3.

592 596 621 Further explanation is perhaps necessary with respect to the "extended families" in Table 3. It must be pointed out that the term 'extended' is here used for the sole purpos of defining types of families which include dependent married couples as differentiated from the ordinary independent nuclear family. It will be seen in the next section, however, that there is no permanency in this inclusion of marrie couples whose intention is always to establish an independent family of their own. The so-called 'extended' family in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF FAMILY
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

59
• 621
[792]

Family Types	Frequency	Per Cent
One-person household	16	5.4
Nuclear family	177	59.4
Limited extended family	24	8.1
Extended family	80	26.8
Ecclesiastical family	1	0.3
Total	298	100.0

592 Bangchan is thus not a counterpart of the Indian or Chinese
596 extended family and should not be conceived as such. Its
621 outlook is definitely that of the nuclear family. Its assumption of an extended family structure does not indicate an intended role of the conventional extended family but does rather demonstrate the inability, temporarily at least, to provide for an establishment of a new family for the newly
[514] wed members. Most of the 80 'extended' families existing in Bangchan at the time of the second census in 1953 cannot be regarded as well to do, and some are extremely poor, being families of the laboring group without any assured regular income.

592 All of the sixteen one-man families were poor, rang-
621 ing from destitute old people who had been deserted by their kin to small farm operators who had to make the most out of their under-sized farms.

592 There were some 53 dependent relatives staying with
602 twenty-five families. These relatives do not include parents
621 of family heads and family heads' direct descendants and
[597] their spouses. They also do not include 'adopted' children of family heads, who automatically become members of the family. Records show that most dependent relatives remained in the family only for a brief period of time. Seven relatives, however, were able during the period from 1949 to 1953 to assume the headship of the families of which they had been dependent members.[7]

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7. See section on change of family heads, Chapter II.

597 As of 1953 seven adopted children were reported to
• 621 be living in Bangchan. Since only those mentioned by family
573 heads as their adopted children were so recorded and since some of the information on family members were not given directly by the family heads, it is possible that there might be some more adopted children who appeared in the 1953 census as nephews or nieces. The authenticity of the term 'adopted child' as used in the village is nevertheless rather questionable. There has never been such a practice like legal registration of adopted children in the village, although this is provided by law. Moreover, maltreatment of an adopted child was not unheard of. In 1952 one family head reported that his adopted daughter had "run away" to Bangkok. In 1953 a young widow, an adopted daughter of an operator of a coffee shop in the village, also "ran away". When her whereabouts became known, no effort was made by the foster parents to return to the woman her golden necklace valued at one thousand baht. Later she was forced back home, being beaten all the way in spite of her complaint that she was pregnant. It was also not infrequent that an adopted child left his foster parents and took residence as a dependent relative in another family in the neighborhood. Such incidents points toward the possibility of 'adopted child' being used as a nom de grace for a prospective free family laborer.

162 Table 4 shows that with the exception of the ecclesi-
592 astical family the size of families in Bangchan ranges from
621 one to fourteen, averaging 5.7 persons per family. This

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 66]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY SIZE
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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Family Size	Frequency	Per Cent
One-person family	16	5.4
Two-man family	18	6.0
Three-man family	34	11.4
Four-man family	35	11.7
Five-man family	43	14.4
Six-man family	48	16.1
Seven-man family	38	12.8
Eight-man family	26	8.7
Nine-man family	23	7.7
Ten-man family	10	3.4
Eleven-man family	1	0.3
Twelve-man family	2	0.7
Thirteen-man family	2	0.7
Fourteen-man family	1	0.3
[792] Forty-one-man family*	1	0.3
Total	298	100.0
Mean	5.7	
Median	6	

* Ecclesiastical family.

162 592 621 average size of family in 1953 is slightly larger than that calculated from the 1949 census.

Disappearance of Some Families from Bangchan

162 178 592 621 When the 1949 and 1953 censuses are paired hamlet by hamlet, appearance of new families and disappearance of some of the old families may be detected. Table 5 shows that during the four years between 1949 and 1953 forty-three families had disappeared from the lists of the seven hamlets constituting Bangchan. This loss was compensated by fifty-three new families, giving a net gain of ten families. In other words, of 288 families existing in 1949, 245 families remained throughout the period. When 53 new families were added to the continuing 245 families, a new total of 298 families was arrived at for 1953. A closer examination, however, will reveal that there were five families which disappeared from one hamlet only to appear in another hamlet of the same Bangchan village. If the seven hamlets are to be considered as one geographical unit, these five families should be deducted from both the disappeared and new families, giving a net disappearance of 38 families and a net appearance of 48 new families, while the number of continuing families becomes 250.

[166] Of 36 families which disappeared from Bangchan, 27 moved out to other villages nearby or afar, while 11 were disintegrated or simply annexed by other families in Bangchan itself.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 68]

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TABLE 5

CHANGES IN NUMBER OF BANGCHAN FAMILIES FROM 1949 TO 1953

Hamlet	Number 1949	Number 1953	Continuing			Disappeared				New			
			Total	(1)	(2)	Total	(1)	(2)	(3)	Total	(1)	(2)	(3)
BC4	43	40	32	32	0	11	6	0	5	8	3	1	4
BC5	27	28	24	18	6	3	2	1	0	4	1	0	3
BC6	44	47	38	36	2	6	4	0	2	9	4	1	4
KY5	54	63	45	40	5	9	6	1	2	18	13	2	3
KY6	28	31	27	26	1	1	0	1	0	4	0	1	3
KY7	43	42	37	33	4	6	5	1	0	5	3	0	2
KY8	49	47	42	36	6	7	4	1	2	5	3	0	2
Total	288	298	245	221	24	43	27	5	11	53	27	5	21

Explanation

Continuing (1) . . same family head
Continuing (2) . . different family head

Disappeared (1). . moved out of the village
Disappeared (2). . moved to other hamlet in the village
Disappeared (3). . disintegrated or annexed by other family

New (1). . . . . moved into the village from other village
New (2). . . . . moved in from other hamlet of the village
New (3). . . . . separated from other family in the village.

592 178 621 Although disintegration and annexation of families have a common feature in that in either case the family loses its entity, they have different connotations as to how the family passes out of existence. In order to have a clear picture of the village economy it is necessary to make a distinction between these two dynamic processes. The best way, perhaps, is to study the eleven families individually.

592 178 621 511 Case 1: A poor laboring family of eleven lived in BC4. The family head was in 1949 an old man of 59, his wife an old woman of 64. The family also included a son, age 29, son's daughters, 16 and 10, son's son, 9, daughter, 35, daughter's son, 18, daughter's daughters, 11, 4 and 1. This was the situation when we were first acquainted with them. When we re-visited the village in 1952, however, we found that only two members remained -- A, the old woman now sick with malnutrition and almost immovable, and B, her granddaughter then age 14 and still in the primary school. Presumably the girl was taking care of her grandmother. Except for the clothes they were wearing and a small old shack which was about to collapse, they did not own anything. B said she worked on a three-fourth-rai parcel and did some fishing or vegetable gathering before and after school time. Actually, she did not get much out of that effort; for the rice crop, 30 tang of paddy or roughly 15 tang of clean rice, was barely enough for a few months' consumption, and fishing would not be productive unless she had several long uninterrupted hours. In tracing what had happened to the rest of

178 592 621

178 the family members we were informed that A's daughter and
592 her four children had moved out of the village separately
• 621 to different places which could not be traced, while B's brother and sister went to live with a relative in Lam-loogga, also a rice growing village some fifteen miles to the north. The two chief bread winners of the family, A's husband and B's father, managed successfully to get themselves ordained and are now residing in the village temple. Early in 1953 B went to live with her relatives in Lam-loogga, leaving the sick old grandmother alone in Bangchan.
[792] The arrangement was that the old woman was to quit the old
[288] shack and take refuge in the secular part of the temple where it would be possible for her ex-husband, now a priest, to have two meals delivered to her every day. Just before the 1953 census was taken, however, she was taken to Lam-loogga. The last member of the disintegrating family was thus left out of the 1953 census.

178 Case 2: After the death of his first wife, an old
592 man in BC4 gave his two sons equal shares of his property.
587 He then acquired a second wife and built a separate quarter
736 apart from the main building, thus creating a new family of
621 two. In 1952 he was fatally hit by a truck on the Minburi road. After a few months of unhappy stay with one of her step sons, the widow acquired a new husband and moved out to a neighboring village.

178 Case 3: There was in BC4 a laboring family of three
592 consisting of an old man, his daughter, and her son. After
621
[166]

178 592 621 [166] the death of her father, it was reported that the woman and her son moved to Bangplee, another rice growing village some fifteen miles to the south. After checking with some of the former Bangchan residents who are now living in that village, the first report was found to be inaccurate. In fact no one in Bangchan seemed to know where they were. The only hint available to us concerning the mother and son was "Family disintegrated. Mother went one direction, son another direction."

Case 4: A woman and her adopted son were operating [702] a 22-rai rice farm in BC6. After the death of the mother, the man remained in the village alone for a short time and then was conscripted into the army.

Case 5: After the death of the head of a laboring family in BC6, the wife and their four grownup children left the village separately. In the eyes of villagers this was [166] another case of "family disintegration." The wife's birth place was in KY8, but she could not go back to her old family because there was not enough land to work.

Case 6: An old woman, age 76, was reported in the [737] 1949 census to be living alone in KY5. Later she moved [792] into the secular compartment of the temple (she was an aunt of the headpriest) where she died before the 1953 census was made.

Case 7: A man, age 50, was living in KY8 with his older sister, age 60, and their nephew's son, age 6. When the man died, the older sister pursued her brother's farm.

178 laboring profession, limiting the work to transplanting only.
592 Apparently she did not earn enough. During this hard period
621 the young boy left her. The woman continued to live alone for two years. After the collapse of her shack in 1953 she went to live with a young couple in KY5 who are not related to her. In exchange for room and board and a nominal allowance, the old woman agreed to take care of the couple's baby.

178 Case 8: In 1949, a couple, both teachers in the Bang-
592 chan Primary School, were sharing the same dwelling with the
845 wife's mother's family, but having a separate food arrange-
434 ment for themselves and their two young daughters. Thus,
621 they appeared in the 1949 census as a separate family. In local standard, the combined income of these two teachers
[416] was quite high. The family lived well and was the only family in Bangchan that owned a camera. In the 1953 census this family became a part of the wife's mother's family because they had arranged to share the same food. The reason that was given for this new arrangement was that some time earlier the wife's brother, who had been living with his mother, got married and moved out to start an independent family, whereupon the old lady suggested that her daughter move in to fill the vacancy.

178 Case 9: In 1949, a family of three, consisting of
592 a young couple and their six years old daughter, worked as
621 farm hands for the wife's mother for fixed pay on which they
[593] were able to live independently. Two or three years later, the wife's mother asked this family to move into her household

178 because four members of her family had just left her to
592 establish families of their own. The son-in-law accepted
• 621 this invitation and had since taken over the management of
[593] his mother-in-law's large 60-rai rice farm.

Case 10: In 1949, an old woman was living with two boys, one distantly related to her, the other without any
[427] blood relationship. She was operating a small rented rice
[792] farm. Some time in the past she had made a generous offer
[431] of her own house to the temple which was not acted upon by the receiving party. In 1953, the headpriest contemplated an expansion of one of the temple buildings and approached the woman for the gift. The woman complied with the request, had her house dismantled, saving only the kitchen, and sent all the building materials to the temple. Meanwhile, the two boys had left her; one went to live with his mother in
[593] the village, the other went to Bangkok. Later, the woman
[437] joined the household of her younger brother, who lived next door, with the understanding that the brother had free use of her buffalo in exchange for her room and board.

Case 11: In 1949, a woman was living in KY8 with her aged mother and her baby born of her separated husband
[586] who was a policeman. Two years later, the woman married a
[587] widower, who lived in the same hamlet, and brought along her mother and son to live with her new husband.

With the exception of Case 6, a lone aged woman who was survived by none after her death, these cases may be grouped according to the nature of acceptance of the families

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

178 592 621 to which surviving elements of the disappearing families were subsequently attached. It was noticed that in the last four cases -- Cases 8, 9, 10, and 11 -- merging with new families was arranged on the basis of mutual convenience, and the disappearing families moved en masse into the new ones (with the exception of Case 10 -- a lone woman when arrangement for merging was being made). It may even be said that the initiative came from the receiving families, although the new members may have been more anxious for the union. In the remaining six cases -- Cases 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 -- there was no element of mutual convenience, and the surviving elements of the disappearing families did not move into new families as a body but as an individual. It seemed in these latter cases that the force of circumstances -- death or extreme poverty -- had prompted either party, usually the disintegrating elements, to seek the union as a quick way out. Because of the purposive nature of the arrangement in the former cases, the process may be called 'annexation'; while for want of a proper term, the process seen among the latter cases will be called 'disintegration'.

[162] [423] [464] None of the eleven cases undergoing disintegration or annexation owned landed property. Table 6 shows that six of these were farm laboring families. The five others were distributed among the following occupational groups: farm operator, public servant, and no occupation.

[166] Among the 27 families that moved out of Bangchan, eleven families were known to be living in the bordering

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 75]

7: Jaalekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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TABLE 6

DISINTEGRATION AND ANNEXATION OF FAMILIES
Bangchan, Thailand, 1949-53

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Case	Occupation	Landed Property	Immediate Cause	Number of Surviving Elements	Number of Attached Families
Disintegration:					
1.	F. laborer	no	poverty	11	4
2.	Public servant	no	death	1	1
3.	F. laborer	no	death	2	2
4.	F. operator	no	death	1	1
5.	F. laborer	no	death	5	3
6.	no occupation	no	death	0	0
7.	F. laborer	no	death	2	2
Annexation:					
8.	Public servant	no	convenience	4	1
9.	F. laborer	no	convenience	3	1
10.	F. operator	no	convenience	1	1
11.	F. laborer	no	marriage	3	1

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

178 villages, and six in villages within a distance of from four
592 to fifteen miles from Bangchan. These seventeen families,
• 621 whose locations were known, were engaged at the time of the
166 study in the same occupations they had been when they were in Bangchan -- either farm operating or farm laboring. Our investigation, however, covered only the whole family as a unit -- that is, we cannot say that every single individual constituting these seventeen families when they moved out of
[464] Bangchan was doing farm work in his new location. Only one case was known in which the family head got a permanent job as a janitor in Wat Makasan Primary School in Bangkok. This man was nevertheless commuting regularly between his farm home in Bangplee and his office in the suburb of Bangkok. His taking up a new job was thus a question of an individual member, not of the family as a whole.

It is not likely that the ten families whose locations were not known to us would take up new occupations in Bangkok. If they did work in Bangkok, they should pay some visits to Bangchan at least during festival time or family re-union occasioned by ordination or cremation, and their presence in the village would certainly be known to us. Besides, we were in constant contact with the core of a group of young men who went to work in Bangkok and who knew one another's whereabouts fairly well, and no information about these ten families was available from this source either. Our impression was that they were doing farm work in some villages not too close to Bangchan.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

Appearance of New Families in Bangchan

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In the pairing of the 1949 and 1953 censuses against each other the appearance of new families was detected as was the disappearance of some of the old families which has just been discussed. Table 5 shows that there were 53 new families, but five of these were merely cases of reappearance of existing families from other hamlets of the same village. Actually, therefore, there were only 48 families that were really new in Bangchan.

Of these 48 new families, 27 moved into the village from the outside and 21 evolved from existing families in Bangchan. Of the 27 immigrating families, 18 came from the bordering villages and 9 from distant villages in all directions ranging from Lardprao and Samsen, some ten miles to the southwest, to Prachin, over a hundred miles to the east. While the eighteen families from the bordering were accustomed, as expected, to rice growing, not all of the nine families from distant villages had been farmers. A family head of one of these nine families came from a family of fruit growers, while another family head, who apparently had a more spectacular record, had been engaged in international rice trading. This latter man, who knew some English, had worked in a large rice mill in Nonburi which was exporting rice under strict government control after the war. Discovery by the government agent of irregularities of the firm led to the man's flight abroad to Hongkong or Swatow some eight years ago. It is assumed with his

[463]

178 appearance in the village that the case has been closed.
592 One reason he chose to take up residence in Bangchan after
621 business failure in Bangkok was that his wife owned through
166 inheritance a 17-rai parcel of rice land in the village. Another equally important reason was the relatively low cost of living in the village as compared to the city, which could not be overlooked especially when he had a large family of ten.

162 Of the 21 families evolving or separating from
178 existing families in Bangchan during the period from 1949
592 to 1953, sixteen were young married couples seeking inde-
591 pendent families of their own. Eight of these were married
621 before 1949, and the rest after that year. These sixteen young couples altogether contributed, in the 1953 census, 21 children of age-group 0-4 years or about ten percent of all children of that age-group in the whole village.

This process of separation of young married couples from the old families is normal, in fact a characteristic feature, in areas where the nuclear family system predominates. Although some newly wed couples were able to establish independent families immediately, the pattern was that they remained for a year or more with family of either side, during which time they accumulated capital necessary for future establishment. A separate section will be devoted to this important feature of the village economy.

178 In contrast to the above normal separation from old
592 families, the remaining five of the 21 families underwent
621

178 different types of separation which will be described indi-
532 vidually as follows:
621

Case 1: This involved the two sons who inherited landed property from his father described in Case 2 for the disintegration of the family, and in fact this was the first Bangchan family we met in 1948. At that time the elder brother, then age 37, was a widower and was courting a woman in another village along the Minburi Road. His work in road construction and maintenance (the Minburi Road) gave him a good excuse for continued absence from home, leaving his two daughters and three sons under the care of his younger
[537] brother who was the family head. Just before the 1949 census
[464] was made, he married the woman and once again became settled down. Meanwhile the younger brother got a job in road construction. With regular monthly cash income, he took to drinking and established himself as one among the few notorious dipsomaniacs in the village. This was intolerable to the elder brother who finally moved his nuclear family out to their new home just across the road.

Case 2: In 1949, an unmarried woman was living in an 'extended' family headed by a son of her elder sister. The combined landed property of the family was 67 rai of rice land, 40 rai of which was a share of the woman and her aged mother who was also living in the family. Some time before the 1953 census was made the woman and her mother moved out to form a separate household. The reason for the separation was not quite clear. It was assumed, however,

178 that these two women were happier living by themselves than
592 with their junior relatives.
• 621
[586] Case 3: A married couple were living in 1949 with the wife's parents. They were later separated, the husband leaving his former wife with her parents. In the 1953 census the man appeared in KY7 list as head of a one-person household.

Case 4: In 1949, a woman appeared in the census as wife of a family head in KY6. In that same year she left him and lived as wife with another man in KY8. A few years after, she left this second man again. She then appeared in the 1953 census as family head of a family of six including her three children and her aged parents.

Case 5: In 1949, a man of 47 was head of a laboring family of nine in KY, including his wife, three adult off-
[464] spring and four young children. Later in that year he left
[586] the family and hired himself out as a regular laborer to a farm operator with whom he worked for two years. He then left the village for a year after which he returned to work as regular hired laborer for another operator for almost a year and a half. In the 1953 census he appeared as head of a one-person household in KY6. Our records show that he was a diligent worker, excellent fisherman, averse to sweet cookies, but very fond of liquor. When asked why he did not go back to his family in KY8, he replied "The larger the family you have, the more trouble you get. I have more fun living alone."

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

178 These five cases may be grouped as follows: two
592 cases of relatives of family heads separating from 'extended'
621 families, two cases of one spouse leaving the other, and one case of a family head deserting his wife and children.

Pattern of Establishment of New Families

593 Bangchan offspring customarily continued to live with
592 their parents as long as they were not married regardless of how old they might be. In the eyes of the parents, an offspring is always their child, immature and needing parental supervision, as long as he has not been able to acquire a spouse; and until then the parents-offspring mutual obligations, necessitating living together, must continue to exist. Thus, it was not uncommon to see several unmarried adults crowding in one family providing too large a labor force relative to a small parcel of land on which the family
[571] worked. In this context, marriage serves an important economic function of giving impetus to the start of new producing units in the village. There is no corresponding service in areas where the extended family system predominates such as in China and India.

583 Two distinct kinds of marriage were conceived of in Bangchan: the conventional marriage with the sanction of parents or guardians of both parties which was usually preceded by formal arrangement and accompanied by marriage rites sponsored by the bride's family; and the popular marriage by mutual understanding between the man and wife without

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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 9

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY FAMILY
Bangchan, Thailand, 1949*

Occupation	BC4	BC5	BC6	KY5	KY6	KY7	KY8	Total
F. operators	25	25	38	37	25	37	42	229
F. laborers	7	1	2	10	1	-	6	27
Traders	1	-	2	1	-	2	1	7
Investors	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
Professional	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
Public servants	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	5
Home enterprisers	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	4
Priest or novice	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Miscellaneous	1	1	1	1	1	3	-	8
Total	43	27	44	54	28	43	49	288

* Some figures in this table differ slightly from those reported on pages 114-5 of the preliminary study (Sharp, Hauck, Janlekha and Textor, Siamese Rice Village) because errors such as duplications and omissions in the original census have been detected and corrected.

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TABLE 10

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY FAMILY
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Occupation	BC4	BC5	BC6	KY5	KY6	KY7	KY8	Total
F. operators	26	19	33	42	28	31	37	216
F. laborers	6	3	8	7	2	5	7	38
Traders	4	4	2	6	1	2	2	21
Investors	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	5
Professional	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Public servants	-	-	2	4	-	1	-	7
Home enterprisers	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Priest or novice	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Miscellaneous	1	1	1	2	-	2	1	8
Total	40	28	47	63	31	42	47	298

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 11

CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE
Bangchan, Thailand, 1949-53

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Occupation	Distribution				
	Actual		Per Cent		
	1949	1953	1949	1953	Changes
Farm operators	229	216	80	72	-8
Farm laborers	27	38	9	13	+4
Traders	7	21	2	7	+5
Investors	4	5	1	2	+1
Professional	3	1	1	+	-1
Public servants	5	7	2	2	
Home enterprisers	4	1	1	+	-1
Priest or novice	1	1	+	+	
Miscellaneous	8	8	3	3	
Total	288	298	100	100	

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

434 463 7. Home enterpriser. Main income from food or handicraft articles produced at home.

434 792 463 8. Priest or novice. Though priests and novices do not receive salaries or wages, their maintenance, which comes from the temple and directly from the people in the form of contributions, is their main income. This category includes only permanent priests and novice personnel. Excluded here are all residents who enter the priesthood more or less perfunctorily for just a few months. Since sexual abstinence is demanded of all monastic personnel, no wives or offspring are found in this category.

434 9. Miscellaneous. The main income source for the eight families in this category is obscure. The heads of these families are not known to have any steady occupations.

178 463 -621 Table 9 shows the occupational distribution of Bangchan families as of 1949. It may be observed that some of the figures in this table differ slightly from those reported in the preliminary study previously cited. This is because errors such as duplications and omissions in the original census have been detected and corrected.

Table 10 shows the same distribution as of 1953, and Table 11 the change in the occupational structure of the village that took place during the four intervening years. In 1949, 80 per cent of Bangchan families were farm operators. Four years later, the figure was reduced to 73 per cent. While there was no percentage change in the figures for public servants, miscellaneous, and priest or

novice; there were noticeable increases in those for farm laborers and traders, and a slight increase in that for investors, which were offset by a marked decrease in figures for farm operators and slight drops in those for the professional and home enterprisers. In order to understand these changes in the occupational structure of the village, more information on some of these occupation than that given in our operational definitions at the beginning of this chapter is necessary.

Farm operation is a traditional way of life in the village. The primary motive is to secure enough rice for consumption. A secondary motive is to have cash from sale of surplus rice to buy goods that are not produced locally.

Farm laboring as a profession is limited to the poor. Farm laborers, occupying the lowest status in the village, are the most unstable and socially disintegrated group. They are not fully employed even during the work seasons of the year because there are too many of them in the locality. Thus, they exist in the village not because of demand for their work but because they have no opportunity for other occupations.

There were twenty-one families that were classified as traders in 1953. Of these, nine were permanent storekeepers, and twelve were peddlers selling food stuffs from door to door. Stores were situated at strategic places in the village -- two at the crossing of Minburi Road and Bangchan Canal which is the natural entrance into the village,

621 four in the immediate neighborhood of the temple or on the
463 temple ground itself, and three on the banks of up-canal
443 Bangchan. These stores varied in the size of business but the goods sold were almost identical. To be found in each store were inexpensive articles of daily use, mostly dry foods, cookies, tobacco, betel, areca, lime, toilet articles, matches, kerosene, and farm materials like ropes. Most of these stores also sold hot coffee, soft drinks, and liquor. It should be noted in this connection that the market town is only two miles away. This nearness to a large market adversely affects the nature and volume of business of local traders in two ways -- villagers bypass local stores and go to the market town for varieties and large purchase, and the village is daily invaded by a number of peddlers from the town selling perishable foods.

443 While local stores operated the whole year round, the
463 activities of twelve other trader families classified as peddlers were highly seasonal subject to local water condition, seasonal demand for purchased food, seasonal supply of cash, and alternative income on the part of the peddlers themselves. These peddlers sold small quantities of vegetables, fruit, and the cheap salt water platoo fish (Rastrelliger chrysozonus), receiving in exchange from buyers cash,
[426] eggs, or paddy. Extension of credit was necessary for villagers did not have cash especially during the period from July to November. The following passages in the author's daily note dated January 12, 1953 gives an idea as to how

443 she wanted to spend more time collecting debts."

221 433 434 443 261 262 It should be noted that A's brief duration of peddling started in the harvesting season. During this time the village cash supply was high, resulting in demand for such a delicacy as pork which normally constituted a negligible fraction of the diet of Bangchan people. This is a good business period for the peddlers. Another good business period, although not as good as the harvesting time, is in the transplanting season, when farmers are too busy to procure their own food (by fishing). In this latter period, farmers are not particular about food, and "anything eatable sells, provided liberal credit is allowed" for people have neither time nor money.

443 It should be noted also that many smaller peddlers did not go to Bangkok as did Nang A. The small peddlers, who operated on a very limited working capital, had to sell their eggs to larger peddlers at discounted prices. Our records show that only three or four peddlers took regular trips to Bangkok.

427 434 454 621 463 426 Five families were classified as investors in 1953. All these families lived on rents from land, interest on loans, and income from speculative sources such as buying paddy when the price was low and selling it at high prices. Actually, most of these five families were not among large land owners in the village. Their combined land was only 134 rai, averaging only 27 rai per family and ranging from 10 to 76 rai. This is a small acreage in comparison to

427 the combined land of five leading farm operators of 693
434 rai, averaging 139 rai per operator and ranging from 83
454 to 235 rai. It must be remembered that our operational
• 621 definition of occupations was based on the main source of
463 income and that many of the villagers had more than one
426 source of income. Investors as an occupational class in Bangchan should not be pictured as large landlords and large money lenders, possessing financial influences over their tenants and debtors. Rather, they were humble fellow villagers whose incomes were mainly derived from rents of small parcels of land or interest on small loans. To cite an extreme case, one aged woman was classified as an investor. She had only 17 rai which she rented out to her own son. She was living alone in an old shack and was too old to do any kind of work. She received as rent about a hundred tang of paddy a year which is equivalent to an annual income of only 800 baht. Thus she was considered one among the poor in the village.

198 There were three families whose occupations were
463 classified as professional in 1949. The number was reduced
621 to one in 1953. The head of this family was a Chinese car-
322 penter who derived his income primarily from boat building. Again, it must be pointed out that reduction of the number of families primarily engaged in professional services does not mean that professional services had been declining.
[305] On the contrary, they had been increasing. There were three barbers in 1953 as against only one in 1949. More traditional

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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178 463 621 doctors were practicing in 1953 than in 1949, while there was no change in the number of midwives. In most cases, however, these professional services had ceased to be the main sources of income of the families engaging in them.

621 434 463 647 [875] In 1953, occupation defined as public service included the jobs of an educational supervisor, one teacher, two school janitors, two workers in the government-owned Bangkok Wharf, and one policeman. Actually, there were five Bangchan residents who were teaching in 1953. Only one of these, however, was a family head. Two of the other four teachers were husband and wife living with the wife's mother who was classified as an investor -- the most prosperous of the investors mentioned earlier in this section. Another teacher, a wife, was also living with her mother who was also an investor. The last teacher, also a wife, was living independently with her husband who was operating a rice farm, and the occupation of the family was thus classified as farm operating. With the possible exception of the policeman, all these public servants were well paid in the village standard, ranging from some four hundred baht a month for a janitor to eight hundred baht for the educational supervisor. After the 1953 census was taken, more regular jobs were opened to Bangchan residents by the Highways Department, and also more people took up regular jobs of a public service nature in Bangkok while retaining residence in Bangchan by commuting daily between the village and their offices. Thus, [178] although the percentage figures remain constant during

434 amounted to somewhere around 5,000 baht, which was about
469 four times as much as the labor earnings of an average rice
621 farm operator as we shall see later.

178 The present occupational situation and accounts of
463 the changes in the past few years alone may not be enough to give us a complete picture of occupational development since the beginning of the history of Bangchan. Fourtunately, however, since settlement in the village in a considerable scale took place only some eighty years ago, evidence from genealogical studies has provided us with ample materials on which a reconstruction of the past development may be made.

[175] When Bangchan was being settled in the 1870's, as a probable consequence of the increasing national and international demand for rice and the revolutionary change in Thai society, every family was naturally a farm operator family. As long as there was land available for clearing, opportunity would be open for every new family, either branching off from the old ones or moving in from the outside, to operate a rice farm.

[161] Eventually, population grew up to a size large enough
[194] to support a temple in 1895. Population growth and the
[175] emergence of a village center at the temple prompted occupational specialization. At the beginning, investing, trading, professional servicing, and home enterprising probably took the forms of secondary occupations, while farm operating remained the primary occupation throughout. In time, these secondary occupations became more and more specialized and

178 finally, for a few families, took precedence over rice
463 growing. The relative importance of these new occupations remained low, however, since only a few families were needed to meet the village requirements for such services.

434 The establishment of the primary school some thirty
647 years ago opened up new jobs as teachers and janitors for
875 some educated villagers who were given preference over out-
[372] siders. It should be noted, nevertheless, that at the beginning the primary school teachers were not considered as regular officials and their pay was as low as six baht a month during the prewar years. Even during the war, they did not get as proportionately large a cost-of-living raise as did other regular officials. It was only after the war that they were made regular officials and that their pay rose almost a hundred times to 450 to 550 baht a month with provision for a steady raise to more than one thousand baht
[48] a month. This new occupation in public service also increased with the extension of the central government employment into the rural areas and with improved transportation facilities which permitted an individual to commute daily between his office in Bangkok and his home in Bangchan. Thus, a Bangchan resident is now serving as an educational supervisor in the nearby Minburi District and a few others are on the regular payroll of the government-owned Bangkok Wharf.

*243 With the background knowledge of the situation of
464 Bangchan farm laborers previously described in mind, we may
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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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243 464 621 463 hypothesize that the presence of farm laborer families in a rice growing village indicates a condition of land scarcity. This is to be distinguished from the presence of farm laborer families in intensive farming areas such as the truck gardening villages along the Damnernsaduag Canal and plantation villages in Cholburi where the marginal product of labor, even with the same crude implement, is much higher than that in the non-intensive rice growing areas. Usually, there are farm laborers in any commercial rice growing region, but they consist of members of farm operator families with excess family workers who work for their own lampai. With low marginal product of labor, the demand for extra labor outside the family is not great and is highly seasonal in rice growing villages, resulting in extremely low total income for farm laborers. Piece-working is thus only good as a subsidiary income for an under-employed farm operator family, and certainly not as the main source of income for any family. Farm laborer families such as those existing in Bangchan are indigenous and are the outgrowth of competition for land coupled with the reluctance to emigrate on the part of those who failed to rent in any land. These people prefer to remain in the home village, willing to accept meager income from piece-work which is perhaps the only type of job they could get in the village, in the meantime trying to eke out as much as possible from what nature has to offer in the form of fish or uncultivated aquatic plants. The abrupt rise of farm laborer families in Bangchan from nine [161] [178]

243 growing village could not very well be studied in a brief period of only one rice year. Rather, the field study should be extended to cover years of good as well as poor crop.

Land Utilization

Official records show that the area of land privately owned in the seven hamlets comprising Bangchan is 6,404 rai. [503] When an estimated area of 100 rai of public land occupied by the half dozen canals is added to the private land area, the total area of the village may be figured at about 6,500 rai.

243 351 423 911 621 The area of each of the 298 homelots in Bangchan varied. It is rather difficult to get accurate figures for these homelot areas. We may, however, give an allowance of one rai for each homelot on the basis of crude estimate. This would include space for buildings and all of the home compound including family pools as well as kitchen garden, and in some cases area devoted to fruit trees. Since all of the land area in Bangchan other than homelots is devoted to rice growing, we may estimate the land available for rice production by simply deducting the homelot area from the total area of land privately owned in the village. This was found to be 6,106 rai in 1953 (Table 12).

243 911 423 621 It should be noted that not all of this area of 6,106 rai was tilled by Bangchan residents, and that some of the villagers also worked on rice fields outside our arbitrary

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 113]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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TABLE 12

LAND AVAILABLE FOR RICE PRODUCTION
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Hamlet	Land Privately Owned	Allowance for Homelot	Land Available for Rice Production
	rai	rai	rai
BC4	930	40	890
BC5	809	28	781
BC6	900	47	853
KY5	891	63	828
KY6	916	31	885
KY7	939	42	897
KY8	1,019	47	972
Total	6,404	298	6,106

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

243 311 423 621 village boundary. Table 13 shows that Bangchan residents worked on a combined area slightly larger than that available to them in our arbitrary village limits. This situation of a village resident working on a field outside the village boundary should not be perceived as one in which the farmer in one village had to walk a few miles to work in another village, for in all cases the fields involved were in the peripheral areas.

243 423 621 Since the approach adopted in this study was one through the people rather than through land, for ease in statistical manipulation we shall use the area worked by Bangchan residents to represent our natural Bangchan area. Thus, when we say that 64 per cent of the rice area in Bangchan are owned by operators, we refer to the 4,314 rai of the 6,722 rai worked by Bangchan residents, not the 3,908 rai of the 6,106 rai which is the actual rice area of the village.

243 In Bangchan, as elsewhere in the country except in limited areas in part of Chiengmai and Lampoon provinces in the north, a single crop of rice is grown without any crop rotation practice. The rice season starts in late May or early June depending upon the actual arrival of the rainy season, and lasts until the harvest of late varieties in the first half of February. At the beginning of the season, the field work is concentrated in the seedbed which is about one-twelfth of the total planting area. Most of the field, then, is not occupied by the crop until transplanting time

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 115]

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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TABLE 13

RICE LAND WORKED BY BANGCHAN RESIDENTS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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Hamlet	Land Available for Rice Production	Land Worked by Residents	Net Area Outside, Worked by Residents
	rai	rai	rai
BC4	890	801	- 89
BC5	781	497	-284
BC6	853	1,102	249
KY5	828	1,295	467
KY6	885	850	- 35
KY7	897	1,016	119
KY8	972	1,161	189
Total	6,106	6,722	616

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7: Janlekha X-4.5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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TABLE 18

RICE AREAS WORKED, OWNED, RENTED IN, AND RENTED OUT
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Hamlet	Total Families	Total Population	Area In Rai			
			Worked	Owned	Rented In	Rented Out
BC4	40	236	801	849	413	458
BC5	28	136	497	305	261	65
BC6	47	270	1,102	576	531	--
KY5	63	356	1,295	963	834	487
KY6	31	168	850	585	354	95
KY7	42	250	1,016	597	527	108
KY8	47	278	1,161	440	721	--
Total	298	1,694	6,722	4,315	3,641	1,203
Areas per family			22.4	14.5	12.2	4.0
Areas per man			4.0	2.5	2.1	0.7

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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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TABLE 19

DISTRIBUTION OF 216 FARMS ACCORDING TO LAND TENURE, BY CONVENTIONAL CLASSIFICATION
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Land Tenure	Number of Farms	Working Area				Average Number of Rai Operated
		Rai Owned	Rai Rented*	Total Rai Operated		
				Actual	Per Cent	
All owned**	48	1,589	--	1,589	23.9	33.1
Part owned	88	1,511	1,583	3,094	46.6	35.2
All rented	80	--	1,955	1,955	29.5	24.4
Total	216	3,100	3,538	6,638	100.0	30.7

* In cases where an operator both rents in and rents out some land, the net area rented in is used.

** Figures include only land owned and operated, land rented out is not included.

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7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 20

DISTRIBUTION OF 216 FARMS ACCORDING TO LAND TENURE,
BY SUGGESTED METHOD OF CLASSIFICATION
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Land Tenure	Number of Farms	Working Area				Average Number of Rai Operated
		Rai Owned	Rai Rented*	Total Rai Operated		
				Actual	Per Cent	
Landlord-operator	11	517	--	517	7.8	47.0
Owner-operator	79	2,131	513	2,644	39.8	33.5
Part-owner	23	227	325	552	8.3	24.0
Tenant	103	225	2,700	2,925	44.1	28.4
Total	216	3,100	3,538	6,638	100.0	30.7

* In cases where an operator both rents in and rents out some land, the net area rented in is used.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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*128 While this "functional" classification of land tenure
423 does not eliminate all of the shortcomings of the conventional
427 method which have been accentuated by land scarcity, it evidently helps to bring about a clearer economic picture of the farm. If the primary purpose of land tenure classification is merely to establish a plain typology of the land holding situation for its own sake only, the conventional method might suffice even in farm labor underemployment areas. On the other hand, if we want to probe further into the business aspect of the farm, as we propose to do in Part II of this study, then a more revealing system of classification is perhaps necessary.

*243 It has been mentioned earlier in this section that
423 of 6,722 rai planted to rice by Bangchan residents a total
427 of 4,315 rai was locally owned (Table 18) and that a total
463 area rented in from outside renters was some 2,407 rai.
• 621 Since the net area rented out by local renters was 1,186 rai (Table 21), the proportion of outside renters to local renters was roughly two to one. Table 21 shows that there were 21 local renters whose main occupations were distributed among landlord-operators, trader, investors, and public servants, and that an average area rented out by each local renter was 56.5 rai.

Table 22 shows a frequency distribution of land owned by operators, and Table 23 shows a frequency distribution of land owned by non-operators.

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TABLE 21

NET AREAS RENTED OUT BY VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

Occupation	Number	Total Area	Ave. Area	Range
		rai	rai	rai
Landlord-operator	10	683	68.3	5-170
Trader	5	189	37.8	17- 86
Investor	4	149	37.3	17- 76
Public servant	2	165	82.5	5-160
Total	21	1,186*	56.5	5-170

* This figure is slightly less than total area rented out of 1,203 rai in Table 18 because net figures are used here.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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TABLE 22

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF LAND OWNED BY OPERATORS
BY SIZE CLASSES
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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Size Class	Frequency
rai	
0- 9	12
10-19	54
20-29	28
30-39	14
40-49	13
50-59	6
60-69	0
70-79	0
80-89	2
90-99	0
100-149	4
150-199	2
200 and over	1
Total	136
Mean	31.0 rai
Median	20.8 rai

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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TABLE 23

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF LAND OWNED BY NON-OPERATORS
BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
Bangchan, Thailand, 1953

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Class	Frequency	Total Area	Ave. Area	Range
		rai	rai	rai
Farm laborer	2	8	4.0	2- 6
Trader	8	184	23.0	3- 86
Investor	5	164	32.8	10- 76
Public servant	2	167	83.5	7-160
Total	17	523	30.8	2-160

*243
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427 landlord-operators were more sensitive to the change in
435 rent rates than were the other groups of farm operators.

Limited opportunity for an alternative occupation
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• 621 was mentioned in the preceding paragraph as one of the factors contributing to the inelastic nature of demand for working land. It was also mentioned in the section on the occupational structure of Bangchan that farm laboring families as existing in the village were indigenous and were an outgrowth of competition for land coupled with the reluctance to emigrate on the part of those who failed to rent
[443] in any land. Limited opportunity for an alternative occupation in the village was also suggested in the same section when it was mentioned that the only possible alternative -- petty trading which was actually taken up by some former farm operators -- was limited by the fact that villagers bypassed local traders and went to the nearby market town of Klinburi for major purchases and variety goods.

Limited opportunity for an alternative occupation
464
465 outside the village, however, needs elaboration. It cannot
369 be denied that wages in Bangkok, only twenty miles away and easily accessible through good road and bus services, were higher on the average than corresponding returns for labor in the village. It is important to note, however, that what will attract a villager to seek a job in Bangkok is not a higher average wage level in the city but a higher marginal wage there. Regarding the marginal wage, it is highly doubtful that a better condition exists in Bangkok.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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CHAPTER IV

FARMING POPULATION

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It was indicated in the section on occupational structure in Bangchan, Chapter III, that there were two groups of villagers whose main incomes were directly derived from farming -- the farm operating and farm laboring families. These two groups constituted 284 out of a total of 298 families in the village in 1953 (Table 10). It should be noted, however, that Table 10 was constructed on the basis of the principal source of income of the family heads, and that the family was taken as a unit.

When individual farm workers are considered, four groups may be differentiated: (1) Farm operators; (2) Family workers; (3) Hired laborers; and (4) Piece-workers.

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Farm operators are those who are assumed to actively manage the farm. Actually, it has been observed that some wives did direct the farm work while their husbands assumed only a passive role. It is rather difficult, however, to point out among some one hundred couples which spouse actually manages the family farm. To save time, and perhaps embarrassment, it was assumed that, where both husband and wife were involved, the husband -- the official family head --was the farm operator regardless of his actual role.

*243 466 Difficulty arises when farm workers are classified individually because of duplication. It was mentioned in Chapter II that family members might work for their lampai after they had fulfilled their obligation on the family farm work. It is seen, then, that a family member may be considered as both family worker and piece-worker. Even the farm operator himself may earn extra income from piece-working and thus becomes also a piece-worker. In fact, most farm operators who had only a small area to work did have time to earn extra income this way. It is only the hired laborer that could not earn extra income from piece-working because he is bound by contract to devote all his time to his employer's farm and household work. It is considered unbecoming for a hired laborer to take time out, even at night, to fish for his own biological family.

Sampling Technique

*128 • 621 So far we have been dealing mostly with the universe of our study -- the total population of our "natural" Bangchan Village as defined in Chapter II; although occasionally, it might have been noticed, reference has been made to a sample of 104 farm operators and of 96 continuing farm operators.

[121] [161] Our primary attempt in this community study is to cover the entire village. It is obvious, however, that all relevant information cannot be gathered on some 300 families comprising this village of about 1,700 people. We may, for

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

*128 example, make a direct count of all the families and the
• 621 people living in the village. We may proceed to get the data of family composition, of land tenure, and of the main occupation for all these families. But we certainly would have neither the facility nor the time to study the business aspect of some 220 farms operated by Bangchan residents. In the study of labor utilization, where daily records of labor employed by the hour is necessary, we first tried two farms but later had to be content with records from only one farm.

It would appear that, while certain aspects of this study involved data from the universe, other aspects might be more efficiently carried on by sample study.

*128 There were, however, a series of technical problems in sampling. It must be recalled that we first went into Bangchan in September, 1948 with almost no basic economic information except the commonsense knowledge that it was a rice growing village which appeared to meet our basic requirements for a field site for a preliminary community study. After checking with the district office and subsequently with Bangchan headmen, it was found that even the latest official census for the village was both inadequate and inaccurate, although it did serve as an invaluable benchmark for the 1949- and 1953-censuses made entirely by our staff. As indicated in the chapter on methodology (pages 36-43), the nature of our area approach study by researchers of different disciplines had given top priority to our

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

TABLE 29

REPRESENTATION OF 104 SELECTED FARMS IN THE TOTAL FARM POPULATION, BY HAMLET
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948

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Hamlet	Number of Selected Farms	Village Total	Per Cent
BC4	25	25	100
BC5	7	25	28
BC6	7	38	18
KY5	35	37	95
KY6	16	25	64
KY7	9	37	24
KY8	5	42	12
Total	104	229	45

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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TABLE 30

CHANGES IN OCCUPATION OF 104 SELECTED OPERATORS*
Bangchan, Thailand, 1948-53

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Occupation	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
Farm operator	104	103	98	96	96	87
Farm laborer	-	-	-	-	1	3
Trader	-	-	-	-	-	2
Investor	-	1	1	1	1	3
Professional	-	-	-	-	-	-
Public servant	-	-	-	-	-	-
Home enterpriser	-	-	-	-	-	-
Priest or novice	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miscellaneous	-	-	-	-	-	1
Disappeared	-	-	5	7	6	8
Total	104	104	104	104	104	104

* Explanation for those changing occupations:

1949 A became an investor.

1950 B moved out to unknown locality.
C moved out to Lam Kralog.
D moved out to Sai Kong Din.
E moved out to Bang Plee.
F moved out to Bang Plee.

1951 G died, and family moved out to unknown locality.
H moved to Bangkok.

1952 H moved back from Bangkok into the village, became farm laborer.

1953 I moved to Lard Krabang.
J stopped farming, became an investor.
K stopped farming, became an investor.
L stopped farming, became a trader.
M stopped farming, became a farm laborer.
N stopped farming, became a farm laborer.
O's occupation became obscure (under miscellaneous).
P stopped farming, became a trader.
Q's family lost its identity, was annexed by a farm operating family not in the sample.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

*128
464
465 be of any help in the understanding of the hired laborer situation in Bangchan.

Let us now turn to the last group of farm laborers
*243
46 -- the piece-workers. These laborers receive their renumerations in the form of cash paid at the completion of each job contracted. Four types of farm work were observed to have involved the utilization of piece-workers -- uprooting of rice seedlings, transplanting, harvesting, and digging earth and mounding. Uprooting, the heaviest of all rice growing steps because seedlings must be pulled up in budle and smashed against the shank of the worker, was limited to adult male workers. Transplanting, on the other hand, was the lightest of all these steps involving the itlization of piece-workers and may be done by all kinds of workers including the young. Harvesting and digging and mounding are too heavy for the young but not for the adult female workers to participate, so they are usually performed by adult workers of both sexes.

*243
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[435] It was found in the cost of production study in 1948 that 104 farm operators in Bangchan spent a total of 4,434 baht on uprooting done by piece-workers, 7,951 baht on transplanting, and 13,310 baht on harvesting, or an average per farm of 43 baht for uprooting, 76 baht for transplanting, and 128 baht for harvesting. Although digging and mounding is generally considered a part of farm work since it is done primarily in order to keep the buffalo shed above the water level as well as to improve the home garden; it is not

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)1956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

243 included in the items of cost of producing paddy, and there-
621 fore we do not have the figure for this item of farm expenses.
433

It was earlier mentioned in the section on occupa-
tional structure in Bangchan that most villagers regardless
434 of their main occupations did perform some piece-work for
464 either main or subsidiary incomes. It is almost impossible,
621 then, to give an exact figure of the number of piece-workers
463 in any one year. For the purpose of this study, however,
we may arbitrarily differentiate between the "professional"
and the "non-professional" piece-workers. Here, the classi-
fication suffers much overlapping -- even more than does the
classification of the occupation of the villagers, for we
cannot even use the concept of the main source of income as
a criterion in this connection. It was mentioned that farm
laborers existed in Bangchan not because of demand for their
work but because they have no opportunity for other occupa-
tions (page 100). Thus, if the main source of income was
used as the criterion for differentiating the "professional"
piece-workers, this group would exclude, for example, the
old woman described in Case 7 page 69, who after having been
left alone had managed to get a small income from trans-
planting which was the only type of farm work she could
perform. The main source of income was also not a good
criterion considering the fact that most piece-work was
done by family members after their obligation to the family
467 farm had been fulfilled. In a desperate attempt to differ-
463 entiate the professional from the non-professional piece-workers

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

182 Nevertheless, the advantages of transient member
464 arrangements to both parties should not be overlooked. It
592 has at least provided the poor with a kind of economic security, since they might arrange to join some families in the village in time of crises. This is perhaps the principal reason why the village, not the living quarter, is considered by most Bangchan people to be their home. By sending some offspring to live with a more affluent family, the poor villagers had been able to reduce the size of their families and thus had managed to prevent their level of living from falling far below the minimum level of subsistence. As for the accepting families, it has already been shown that they had enjoyed the benefit of cheap labor provided by transient family workers.

*243 Changes in Farming Population in Bangchan
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• 621
[592] Table 11 shows that the number of farm operators in Bangchan had decreased from 229 in 1949 to 216 in 1953, while the number of the family heads whose main incomes were derived from farm labor had increased from 27 to 38 within the same period.

When the farm operating families were studied individually, it was found that 181 families had been operating their rice farms in Bangchan throughout the period. There were 48 farm operators whose names disappeared from the list of operators in 1953. These were compensated by 35 new operators. Thus, there was a net loss of 13 farm operating families during the period from 1949 to 1953.